/59 cont./

the bloody element, which for all primitive people and for all children is a synomym for vigor, spirit, and health. This step is really critical; frequently it is feared, it is surrounded with mystery, and in many cases even goes so far as to produce hysteria and mental disorders; and it is frequently the point of departure for many disturbances both organic and moral. Thus, in both senses did Father Vilariño, S. J., say that the age between 14 and 24 years was the decade of death.

125. The Pemón distinguish in a girl three ages: true girlhood, in which she is muré; an intermediate one, in which she is /60/ manak-dakán, when her breasts are about to appear; and puberty, in which she is auroni-pué, in which menstruation has occurred.

126. This third age is one of confinement and diet for a more or less long period. The Pemón do not build special ranchos apart for these pubescent girls, but small apartments within the common house itself, or, more exactly, garrets as in high habitations. It seems that formerly the confinement and diet were more rigorous and prolonged; now they are only observed in the two or three first manifestations of menstruation.

According to notes of my native collaborator, Ernesto Pinto Armellada, which I have before me, among the principal foodstuffs prohibited to pubescent girls were moriche worms, turkey hens, deer, etc., in order to avoid bad childbirth; in addition, salt and sweetness, so that their teeth will not be damaged, since it is already known that "formerly women chewed kachirí."

127. The object of this confinement is not making them pale nor to keep them away from men's glances, but to preserve them from the assaults of lustful or lovesick spirits, such as amariuak, rató, mayikó, rató, etc.

When detailing the observances prescribed by the ancients for this age in women, it is said that:

a) they must lie down in the hammock in the straightest position possible;

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286 /For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of
291 Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178,
301 pp. 273-279./
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[p. 114]

MATERIAL CULTURE

Dwellings

Types of Buildings.

342 Kamarakotos live in stoutly constructed houses which are semipermanent. They may be occupied until the man who built them dies, sometimes a matter of fifteen or twenty years, although the average time of occupation may be less. According to their purpose, three types can be distinguished: (1) The enclosed dwelling, (2) the wall-less shelter, or work-house, and (3) the air-tight "calabozo." A given family group may have only the first of these, may have the first and second, or may have all three. Most have the first and second, but few have all three.

The simplest type of ordinary dwelling is circular, with a conical roof and one entrance (or rarely two). This, called waipa, is the most universal sort of Carib house and is believed to be the most primitive. Some students go so far as to suppose that it is the only truly Carib type and that elongate or rectangular houses show European influence, a statement that is doubtful to the extreme that it appears to me to be demonstrably false. The elongate house is, in fact, quite unlike any structure made by non-Indian people with whom these Indians have had contact and is a natural development of the circular house. Taking neighboring Carib tribes into consideration, every gradation between the two types can be seen. I cannot but agree with Roth that the elongate or elliptical house is a purely native complication of the circular house.

The elongate house is most common among the Kamarakotos and may be called their typical dwelling. Unlike the elongate houses of which plans are given by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes and by Farabee for the Makuchís, it is not typically elliptical but has straight, parallel sides and semicircular ends. There is a door at each end, as in Farabee's Makuchí houses, not one in the side as shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes.

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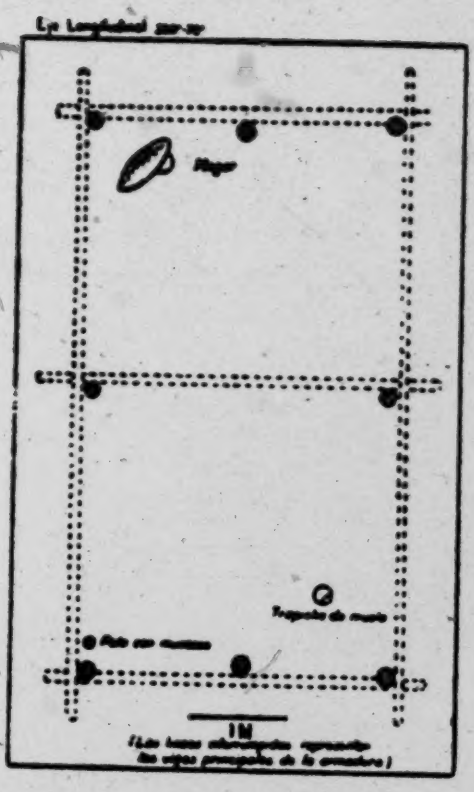

Fig. 2 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter. Building G at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a wata-imedapun. Ground plan, showing the eight uprights and (in broken lines) the frame beams. The fixtures include a fire hole, dug in the ground, a cane press, and a forked upright for a casave press.

[357] 252

342 Both these types of structures serve the same purpose. They are the homes, properly speaking, where the household goods are stored, where most of the meals are prepared and eaten, and where the family sleeps.

343 Near the dwelling there is usually built a simple quadrangular structure with open sides and a ridged roof. This serves as a sort of work room. It

almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of cassave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakɛn, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabozo, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyɛ[?] being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarɛ, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarɛ, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarɛ, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarɛ. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

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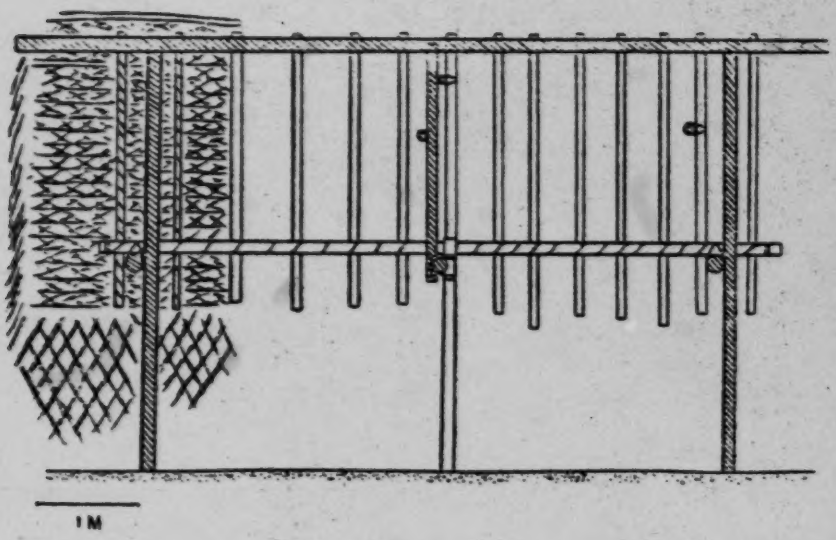

Fig. 3 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter. Same building as Fig. 2, diagrammatic longitudinal section, with far side in projection. The thatch is indicated only at the left end of this.

342 of the Roroimá group, and the Venturari group, at least, and I see no reason
171 to believe that it is non-Carib. Mud roofs are not used nor are mud bricks.
342 Mud ceilings are doubtless an innovation showing non-Carib influence. I did not observe the use of bark for walls, such as has been reported among some other tribes of this general region.

342 The basic plan of the circular house consists of a center pole and a ring
335 of short poles supporting the wall. A horizontal ring is supported by the wall poles and a cone of roof-poles radiates from the center pole to this ring. In larger circular houses a second smaller ring of vertical poles may be inserted between the wall and the center pole and upholds a higher ring supporting the middle of the roof-poles. Light sticks or heavy vines are run horizontally around the roof-poles and the thatching is fastened to this.

In the elongate house, each end is built like half of a circular house, each with its own upright center pole, except that the roof is made lower by running the radiating roof-poles not to the top of the upright but to the horizontal,

[text continues on p. 119]

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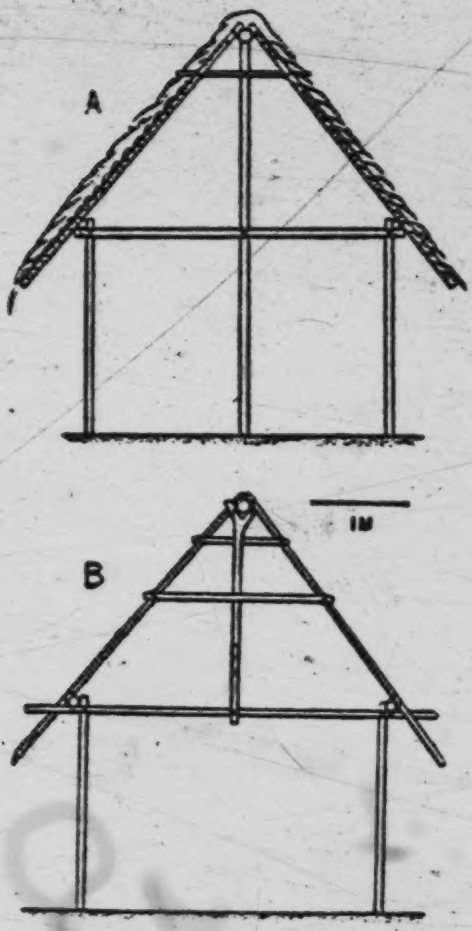

Fig. 4 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter. Same building as Figs. 2-3. A, diagram of northeast end. B, diagram of central member (thatch omitted), showing method of bracing ridge-pole from rafter, leaving center of floor open.

342 longitudinal ridge-pole that runs between the upright posts and projects be-
335 yond each to support also the roof-poles of the semicircular ends. The straight ridge is thus longer than (up to twice as long as) the straight part of the walls and the main uprights are only about two-thirds as high as would be necessary for a circular house of radius comparable to the ends of the elongate house. Uprights intermediate between the two central uprights and the wall are few in number (usually only four) and near the walls, keeping the center of the house relatively clear, and serve rather to support transverse rafters and storage racks than to reenforce the roof.

343 The basic plan of the wall-less shelter consists of six uprights, two sup-
335 porting the ridge pole and two shorter ones on each side supporting an eave-pole. A transverse rafter is usually run across each end between the corner poles. In the larger and more typical open work-houses, the plan is complicated by adding an upright in the middle of each side, as an additional support for the eave-pole, and a central support is also provided for the ridge-pole. In order to keep the center of the shelter free, the latter support is usually not by a pole sunk in the ground but by one rising from a transverse rafter (see Fig. 4B).

342 An imperfect smoke-vent is sometimes left just under the end of the ridge
[354] pole in the elongate houses. Otherwise there is no provision for the exit of smoke and the inside of the roof of a house that has been occupied for any length of time is heavily coated with tar and soot. The floor is simply the natural earth of the locality. The first act in building a house is to clear the grass and other vegetation from the floor area and for a meter or so beyond
[353] where the house wall is to be. There are no internal walls or subdivisions of any sort except that heavy equipment, such as the hollowed logs for casave and cachiri, is often piled between the two uprights of an elongated house, leaving a relatively free passage around this central barrier on both sides.

Windows are never provided. Doors, of less than normal adult height, always have a vertical wall-post on each side and usually a second post a few centimeters inside each of these, so that a very short passage is provided. At
[285] night a palm leaf mat (or, rarely, hewn boards) is lashed to these inner posts to close the opening.

Uruyén.

621 It is misleading to speak of a Kamarakoto village, since the typical inhabited place has only one family-group, which may include one to three, rarely more, adult men with their families, and seldom has more than one or two occupied dwellings. Real village accumulations with several unrelated
[101] family-groups do not occur. Uruyén, where most of my information was gathered, is here used as an example of a Kamarakoto inhabited place.

[text continues on p. 120]

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
119a

Fig. 5 – Kamarakoto Work Shelter.

Same building as Figs. 2-4. Photograph of northeast end (see Fig. 4A). The cane-press can be seen inside to the left. This building had not been used for some weeks and the ground would be free of vegetation if it were in current use.

Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana, the Uruyén-tai, in the middle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a terrace, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi, joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uruyi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:

Type of building	Material		Use
	Roof	Walls	
A. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarę.	maripada-yarę.	Principal dwelling, Reyes and family.
B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	kunwada-yarę.	(none)	Work-house for A.
C. Circular: waipa.	kunwada-yarę.	maripada-yarę.	Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors.
D. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarę.	mud (non).	Dwelling, Claudio and family.
E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeaken.	kunwada-yarę.	mud (non).	Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors.

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
F. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarg.	maripada-yarg.	Dwelling, recently abandoned following death of owner.
G. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	maripada-yarg.	(none)	Work-house for F, now abandoned.

The dimensions of F and G, which are typical, are shown in the plans (Figs. 2, 6A)[1] and those of the other buildings more approximately in the map (Fig. 11).[2] No attempt has been made to orient the buildings in any particular way. The orientation seems to depend on slight accidents of the ground and, more particularly, on placing the ends of buildings, where their doors are, more or less in the direction from which they are usually approached. The prevailing winds do not seem to have influenced orientation.

In house A lives the head of the place (to'-esa'). Reyes, with his wife, their three children, and two adopted children (orphaned nephew and niece). B is the work-house of this family. Reyes plans to convert it into a "calabozo" and it has more wall uprights than is normal for an open work-house. C was formerly a dwelling, the builder of which has emigrated, so that it is now falling into ruins but is still used occasionally as a work-house and guest-room. D was built by Juan José who moved to Oruá and then to Aleuiba, south of Uruyén. Since his departure it has been occupied by a member of Reyes' family group, Claudio, with his wife, who is Reyes' sister, and their four children.

E is a "calabozo," the use of which has been explained.

F and G, respectively the dwelling and work-house of a family group, have been recently abandoned because the head of this group died there. If a house is abandoned by a living headman, as C and D were, they may be occupied by any one who wishes to do so, and even if that headman subsequently dies the building does not become uninhabitable. The death in a house of a subsidiary member of the family does not cause its abandonment. But if the headman of a family dies, the house that he occupied when he died is immediately abandoned and is never occupied again, even temporarily. In this case the former head is actually buried in the house, but this is not always done and burial elsewhere does not make the house habitable. Such abandoned houses are frequently burned down, but there is no obligation to do so and the burning is apparently done merely for sport or as an accidental result of grass fires.

1 [see pp. 115 and 122, Category 116 - Analyst]
2 [see p. 122e Category 116 - Analyst]

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Fig. 9 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.

The east end of Building A at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11) is seen to the left, a parapan essentially like that in Figs. 6-8. To the right is a corner of Building B, the work shelter belonging to this dwelling. A fishtrap hangs from its eaves.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
122c

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

561 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in
[242] North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call the plant kosera, the root kösg, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177 direct European influence.
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177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
199 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely
aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work,
matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their
own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in
the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite
aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it
is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the
opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe
that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure
importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from
the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion
and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions.
Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from
Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have
been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured
any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English
numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]